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AFRICAN AGENDA

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U. S. Intervention In Chile

In President Ford's admission and arrogant defense of the United States' subversive role in the fascist coup which overthrew the elected Allende government in Chile, he characterized the tragedy as being "in the best interest of the Chilean people, and certainly of the United States". This flagrant example of the aggressive nature of U.S. foreign policy has ended many illusions about the purpose of U.S. "involvement" in the developing countries.

Friends of Africa are especially alarmed because many of the Central Intelligence Agency and State Department operatives, their hands steeped in the blood of the Chilean people, have since been reassigned to African posts. Among these are Nathaniel Davis, ambassador to Chile during the 1973 bloody coup and now assigned by Kissinger to be Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Dean Hinton, a specialist in economic intelligence, Director of AID (Agency of International Development) in Chile (1969-1971) and a member of the National Security Council Subcommittee on "Nationalization of U.S. Companies" abroad, has become ambassador to Zaire. Frederick Latrash, the AID official who helped bring down the Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954, undermined the Nkrumah government in Ghana in 1966 and served as the Political Director of the U.S. Embassy in Santiago in 1971, has been reassigned to Africa. Also William Bowdler, a member of the National Security Council and known for his CIA activities in Latin America, has been appointed ambassador to South Africa.

Before 1970

U.S. intervention in Chile began long before the POPULAR UNITY COALITION (UP) began to successfully challenge the U.S. role in Chile. After UP won the executive branch of the Chilean government, U.S. covert penetration in Chile became more complete. In the economic sphere, a merging of the

native Chilean monopolies with the U.S. based multinational corporations developed. Even physical mergers were reflected in the often Anglo names of the big Chilean bourgeoisie. For example, a member of the "Edwards family" (an important Chilean capitalist family whose fraudulent banking practices were exposed by the UP government) fled to the U.S. where he became vice-president of Pepsi-Cola. In 50 years U.S. monopolies extracted over \$10 billion from Chile, fully one half of all the wealth Chile had produced in 400 years.



Cultural penetration was especially prominent — many radio stations were totally devoted to U.S. music and TV was completely dominated by U.S. programs. One of the most popular UP measures was to require a minimum percentage of Chilean programs on the radio, giving rise to a great resurgence of Chilean culture.

U.S. interference in Chilean politics has been confirmed by the testimony of CIA Director William F. Colby at the House Armed Services Committee. Back in 1964, \$3 million in CIA funds was poured into the Christian Democrats Party which narrowly defeated Salvador Allende for the presidency. No doubt this sum of money, which was huge by Chilean standards, was decisive in the

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History of the Popular Front Movement in Chile

From 1939 to the election of Salvador Allende in 1970, the Popular Front Movement had gone through many coalitions without having the real support of the masses of the Chilean people. It was not until 1970 that the Popular Front, under the leadership of Allende, had the full support of the Chilean people.

The history of the development of the Popular Front Movement starts during World War I when the demand for Chile's nitrates and copper reached unprecedented heights. The subsequent growth of mining, manufacturing, and commerce led in turn to an enlarged industrial proletariat.

The depression of the 1930s created the objective conditions for the radicalization of this emerging proletarian class. According to the League of Nations, Chile was hit harder by the effects of the Great Depression than any other nation in the world. Sale of copper and nitrates, upon which Chile had depended for more than 70 percent of its national income, declined from \$27 million in 1929 to about \$3.5 million in 1932. Between October 1929 and October 1930 imports fell 88 percent. Moreover, salaries declined, and the cost of staples rose drastically.

As the Communists and Socialists attempted to represent the interest of the proletariat, the Radical Party became the party of the middle-sectors. The Radical Party had been in existence since the mid-nineteenth century. Although by the 1930s the Party had become associated with the rising urban middle-sector, it had the broadest class base of all the Chilean parties. Side by side within this party were landed proprietors, wealthy mine-owners, merchants, teachers, civil servants, artisans and other strata of the middle-class. The multi-interest base of this party tended to give it a centrist character.

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Chile's Experience and Problems Of The Class Struggle

The following article is taken from *Political Affairs*, Dec. 1974. This article by Alexander Sobolev has been abridged because of space. The second half of the article will be published in the next issue of the **African Agenda**.

All the crucial questions of struggle for the implementation of profound transformations and transition to socialism are being vigorously discussed in connection with the military-fascist coup in Chile. Of course, it is up to the Chilean comrades to draw exhaustive conclusions about the experience of the Popular Unity government and about the causes of its defeat, and they already have made the first steps in this direction.

But the experience of the events in Chile is not of national importance alone. It is important for the entire international workers' and Communist movement. As is known, most Communist Parties in capitalist countries are exponents of the revolution's peaceful development. The events in Chile introduce many new elements into the substantiation of the revolution's development in a peaceful form. For this reason the Communist Parties strive to draw conclusions from the brutal lessons of the revolution's defeat in Chile.

At the same time the gloating ultra-Leftist elements, organizations of the Maoist type and the Trotskyites are sacrilegiously trying to use the Chilean revolution's tragedy for increasing their meager theoretical baggage. There have already appeared quite a few articles in which these extremists expound rather expertly about the erroneousness of the very idea of transition to socialism by peaceful means, and about the correctness of their own adventurist concepts. Thus, Krivine, one of the leaders of French Trotskyites, openly declares: "Peaceful roads of transition to socialism end up with bloodbaths."

Pseudo-scientific talk about the causes of the coup in Chile can be encountered also in the bourgeois press, which presents the Allende government's policy in a distorted, slanderous manner and holds it responsible for all the difficulties in the country.

Bourgeois ideologists try to prove the incompatibility of socialism and democracy: the impossibility of social progress within the framework of socialism in general and along the roads of peaceful development in particular. They contend that the struggle for socialism will inevitably be accompanied by fierce civil wars and bloodshed, by brute force and countless sacrifices, economic dislocation and a worsening of the living standards of the popular masses. For this reason, they say, it is better to suffer the hardships inherent in bourgeois relations than to accept senseless sacrifices and

bloodshed in the name of illusory hopes. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie strive to discredit the very idea of socialism in the minds of the masses as allegedly destructive by its very nature.

So the events in Chile attract the attention of the most diverse political forces, and numerous demagogic speculations about the Chilean tragedy are appearing. For this reason, while emphasizing the priority right of Chilean comrades to determine the causes and study the genesis of the military-fascist coup, Marxists in other countries strive to take part in the theoretical analysis of the problems and prospects of struggle for democracy and socialism in the light of the Chilean experience.

The international importance of Chile's experience stems from the fact that it focuses many problems of struggle for the peaceful transition to socialism that are common to many other parties and countries. The tendencies of class struggle and political life in Chile reflected in a concentrated form the contemporary stage in the world revolutionary process, the logic of its development, the contemporary manifestations of the strengths and weaknesses of the working class movement, sober calculations and the illusions and delusions that have not yet been overcome.

All this means that the essence of Chile's experience can be correctly understood only in the context of the common problems facing the international workers' and Communist movement. Lenin's teaching on imperialism and his theory of the socialist revolution are the key to the analysis of the main questions of the development of class struggle at the contemporary stage, of the experience and lessons of the Chilean revolution, as well as Lenin's methodology, which shows that the correctness of an analysis is ensured first of all by a deeper penetration into the constantly developing dialectics of interconnection between the international and the national.



President SALVADOR ALLENDE

It can be said with full confidence that at the present stage of class struggle the question of perfecting the entire system of political guidance, of raising its scientific level and tactical effectiveness is one of the crucial problems of the world revolutionary process. A deep study of all aspects of Chile's experience will make it possible to expand the theoretical and political knowledge of the revolutionary vanguard.

Most contributors to the foreign press devote their articles about Chile mostly to a search for errors and miscalculations in the government's activities, which are purported to constitute nearly the sole cause of defeat. This point of view is one-sided.

Correct conclusions from the experience of the Chilean events can be drawn only on condition of a synthetically integral study of the process of the revolution's development from victory to defeat. Such a study includes: a) a generalization of all the new creative elements that have been introduced by the theory and practice of the Communist Party of Chile into the teaching of the revolution; b) a sober analysis of the alignment and real correlation of class forces at various phases of the revolution's development; c) the real mistakes and miscalculations made by the Popular Unity government. In its documents the Communist Party of Chile admits to the existence of such mistakes. In its Appeal to the People of October 11, 1973, it says that in the three years of the Popular Unity government's stay in power "important transformations have been carried out but serious mistakes have also been made."

The creative approach to the main tasks, to the alignment of class forces and the possibilities of their regrouping at the first strategic stage of the revolution is an important achievement of the Communist Party of Chile.

The Communist Party clearly determined the direction of the movement's main blow: against U.S. imperialism which held sway in the country; against local latifundists, who have merged with the Yankees and local monopoly capital; against local monopoly capital, which is connected with American capital and the local latifundists.

A revolutionary, constructive platform of struggle was elaborated on the basis of this concept. It was accepted by the parties forming the Popular Unity coalition that had come into being on the initiative of the Communist Party. The Communist Party and the Socialist Party reached agreement on unity of action and this considerably raised the fighting

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...ential of the working class. Having a considerable revolutionary traditions and standing on a higher organizational level, it demonstrated its ability to become the hegemonic class and came out as the main motive force of the revolutionary transformations.

The correct identification of priority tasks of struggle accorded with the interests of the broadest segments of the nation: the peasants, craftsmen, small industrialists and merchants, the working intelligentsia.

In developing the struggle for the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic revolution the Communist Party of Chile proceeded from the assumption that a national crisis was maturing in the country as a result of the aggravation of all the contradictions inherent in Chilean society.

First of all, contradictions between the nation and U.S. imperialism had become aggravated late in the 1960s and anti-imperialist sentiments became extremely widespread.

Secondly, there was a considerable aggravation of the crisis of the social structures of Chilean society. The drop in production, the growth of inflation, mass unemployment, growing poverty of working people and economic dislocation — all this pointed to the obsolescence and corruption of social relations and their antipopular essence. There was also an aggravation of contradictions between the masses and the monopolist-latifundist upper crust.

Thirdly, there was a serious aggravation of the political crisis, and the inability of the ruling classes to administer the country using the old methods became manifest. This was a crisis of bourgeois reformism, of which President Frei's policy was an embodiment.

The ruling classes found themselves in isolation. A crisis of Chilean society's political structure set in. The content and nature of the nation-wide political crisis were determined by the sum total of all these crisis phenomena.

Proceeding from a profound analysis of the alignment of class forces in the country, the historical traditions of the country and the specificities of the national crisis, the Communist Party of Chile evolved a concept of peaceful accomplishment of an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic agrarian revolution with a subsequent transition to socialism, and outlined the political measures required for the attainment of this task. In the Party's opinion the greatest possibilities for a peaceful solution of the main question of the revolution — the question of power — were offered by presidential elections because victory in them opens up the road to executive power.

The Communist Party of Chile and the Popular Unity coalition adopted this program, set course at taking over executive power and scored victory.

The phase of revolutionary socio-

...economic transformations in accordance with the program of the Popular Unity coalition began after the formation of the Allende government. These transformations were carried out within the framework of the Constitution and existing legislation. The Allende government scored really tremendous historic successes and enriched the theory and practice of the peaceful development of the revolution.

Major socio-economic undertakings were carried out within a short period of time: the natural resources and the mining industry were nationalized (copper, saltpeter, coal, iron ore), a number of industrial companies and the banking system were socialized; control was established over foreign trade; the estates of big landowners were expropriated and latifundism was actually liquidated; peasants were allotted land and new cooperative and state forms of agrarian production were set up; a state sector of the economy was created and considerably expanded; the wages of workers, civil servants and servicemen were raised.

When assessing such measures as the nationalization of natural resources, foreign monopolies and a number of local companies, the socialization of most banks and the establishment of control over foreign trade, that resulted in the forming of the State sector, it is necessary to bear in mind that they were carried out at the stage of the democratic revolution and at the same time they considerably deepened the revolution, furthered it, carried it beyond the framework of democratic transformations and created the embryo of socialism. Chile's experience showed again that precisely such is the dialectics of the development of any democratic revolution in present conditions. It is no longer possible to ignore this conclusion when working out the strategic aims of the democratic stage of struggle in any country.

The big victories of the Popular Unity, its outstanding achievements in the political and socio-economic fields were the first, very substantial contribution to the creation of a people's state, the first steps along the road to socialism.

But the logic of struggle, naturally, demanded a further advance, a deepening of transformations, transition to the solution of new tasks. In this context, I believe, there is reason to say that the democratic stage of the revolution consists of two phases, each of which has its strategic orientation, its political and economic tasks, its specificity as regards the alignment of forces.

The extremely urgent need of solving the following inter-connected crucial problems emerged for Chile at this phase: the political — the solution of the question of power; the economic — the organization of the normal functioning of economic life in conditions of cardinal

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Free Rev. Ben Chavis and The Wilmington 10!



The Reverend Benjamin Chavis, of the United Church of Christ's Commission on Racial Justice, and his co-defendants known as the Wilmington, N.C. Ten need our active support to ensure that they are not railroaded to prison for an outrageous combined sentence of 282 years on trumped-up false charges by the North Carolina authorities. The Wilmington Ten case is one of the most blatant examples of the intensified racist and political repression in this country. Once again, the victims of violence have been portrayed as the perpetrators.

In 1972, the Wilmington Ten were convicted of arson, conspiracy to assault emergency personnel and criminal responsibility for damages resulting from the 4-day Klu Klux Klan and Rights of White People vigilante attack on them in 1971. The Wilmington Ten defendants were actually defending a church in Wilmington's Black community from the racist and violent seige by the vigilantes.

Recently, the North Carolina Court of Appeals refused to grant the Wilmington Ten a new trial. This gross injustice was handed down despite the well-documented defense argument that there had been blatant miscarriage of justice, and despite the evidence that large secret payments were paid to two informers to testify against Rev. Chavis. The defense attorneys are taking the case before the North Carolina Supreme Court; the case will be reviewed in June.

The African American Solidarity Committee joins the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression and all progressive people in demanding that the case be overturned and that the persecution of Rev. Ben Chavis and the Wilmington Ten be halted!

Most importantly, we urge you to write or wire the Hon. Rufus Edmisten, Attorney General, Raleigh, North Carolina 27602, and petition him to join the defense before the North Carolina Supreme Court in asking that the case be overturned. At the very least, he must move for a new trial. Copies of petitions for the Wilmington Ten can be obtained from the NAARPR, 150 Fifth Ave. Room 804, New York, N.Y. 10010, telephone (212) 243-8555.

United, the people can never be defeated.

to The Party And The People Of Chile

The following article is a much shorter version of the Manifesto of the Communist Party of Chile. The Manifesto is being circulated covertly in that country. The full text is printed in *New Times* No. 9, February, 1975.

The Fascist Coup and the World Crisis of Imperialism

The fascist coup in Chile took place in the context of the world crisis of capitalism. It was testimony to the increasing inability of the multinational and local monopolies to impose their plans on society without violating democratic norms. It clearly confirmed the fact that the oligarchy and imperialism do not hesitate to establish tyranny to preserve their privileges. The coup reflected the growing weakness of the capitalist system, its historical decline.

The fascist coup is in striking contradiction to the march of history in our time. The trend of historical development is not determined by events like those that shook our country on September 11, 1973. Although the fascists achieved temporary success in our country, humanity is irresistibly moving towards the triumph of peace, democracy and socialism.

The world balance has changed fundamentally in favour of the forces of progress. This is reflected more and more in such international organizations as the United Nations and the Organization of American States, where imperialist forces, and in particular U.S. imperialism, are finding themselves increasingly isolated.

All this is taking place at a time when imperialism is experiencing its most serious economic crisis since World War II, while the socialist community is registering ever greater economic and political achievements, thereby demonstrating to the whole world the advantages of the new system which knows no crises and is steadily forging ahead.

The Majority of the Population Suffers from the Military Junta and its Policy

The fascists stand for the adoption of the economic model imposed from without which is designed to turn Chile into a country with a high concentration of monopoly capital, low wages and super-exploitation of the working class, a country open to penetration by foreign capital, they console themselves with the illusion of economic development.

Owing to the plight of the wage earners the demand for goods has sharply declined, and this results in the impoverishment of the vast majority of the small and medium-bracket proprietors. The position of the owners of trucks and taxis, shopkeepers and small manufacturers, farmers and professionals, the very strata which the putschists used as the instruments of their conspiracy, is

deteriorating from day to day, and some of them are threatened with ruin.

The sharp deterioration of the living standards of the Chilean people caused by the policy of the junta gives rise to resistance, true, in many cases muted, but clearly extending to the majority of the population. The nightmare of the incessant soaring of prices weighs down on millions of men and women.

We see blows struck at the working class, the peasants, office workers, all wage and salary earners. The present rulers are seeking to bring about the bankruptcy of non-monopoly proprietors. All these sections are moving farther and farther away from the junta, although originally many of them looked to it with approval and hope.

The dissociation from the junta is beginning to take an open form among those sections of the working people who were deceived into supporting the anti-democratic manoeuvres which paved the way to the coup. This applies to the workers of the copper industry who today demand the conclusion of collective bargaining agreements and the restoration of the income level that existed in 1973, i.e., under the popular unity government, prior to the unfortunate strike financed by the CIA.

What is happening in the Christian Democratic Party is particularly indicative. The fascist government has subjected the CDP to systematic hounding. The totalitarian concept rules out the existence of any democratic organization, even when it stands predominantly for the interest of the bourgeoisie. Complete rejection of democracy in any form accords with the essence of fascism, that political expression of monopoly capitalism which means the subordination of all of society to the interests of the minority. The policy of repression hits at the majority of the population, though in varying degrees; it is particularly savage towards revolutionaries, but it affects all democrats.

The Conditions Exist for Building the Broadest Movement of Anti-Fascist Unity

As the May 1, 1974, appeal of the Popular Unity Political Committee said, "Chile is faced with a great challenge to which there can be only one answer: the establishment of a broad anti-fascist front of all the men, women and youth of our country, a front capable of overthrowing the dictatorship, creating a regenerated democracy and returning, with the support of the majority of the people, to the road of revolutionary change." This front is open to all patriots; it excludes only the oligarchy, the fascists and the collaborators.

The present situation has reaffirmed the vitality of Socialist-Communist unity

as an essential expression of the unity of the working class, a unity that has emerged and gained strength in the course of protracted struggles and common experience. It presupposes also the strengthening of Popular Unity as an expression of the desire on the part of the more conscious section of the population to join forces. At the same time it is projected further to joint action and unity with the other sections of the population which did not support the popular government but suffer today from the tyranny of the dictatorship. These sections, organizations and parties should take part in the Anti-Fascist Front with equal rights and obligations.

The Communist Party openly addresses the Christian Democrats inviting them to consider these propositions.

There is of course much that divided and still divides the Marxists and the Christian Democrats, but we also have common interests, and the history of our country has conclusively shown us that whenever we have succeeded in acting together and achieving unity on what is most important, the country and the people have derived concrete benefit therefrom.

Unity is the imperative of the moment. The achievement of unity will be the first victory over all the instigators of enmity and division past and present.

The Chilean Communists have stressed that they visualize the Anti-Fascist Front as a movement capable of giving the country a government including all the forces belonging to the Front. "The end objective of the Anti-Fascist Front the creation of which the popular forces stand for is the overthrow of the dictatorship, the abolition of the totalitarian, police state it has established, and the building of a new lawful, democratic, anti-fascist, national, popular, pluralistic state able to ensure democratic renewal and the complete eradication of fascism, to carry out revolutionary changes and achieve national independence." The character of this state will be finally determined on the basis of the common views of all participants in the Front and, naturally taking into account the finest traditions and democratic achievements of our people.

We shall only repeat that among the men in military uniform we distinguish between the fascists and the non-fascists, between the torturers and those who refuse to be party to criminal practices, between the honest and the dishonest, between the promoters of the conspiracy and the deceived. The signs are that a little more than year after the betrayal engineered by a group of senior officers there is a growing reluctance in the ranks of the army to continue acting as the guardians of the rich and jailers of the

To The Party And The People Of Chile

poor, as the executioners of their own people.

The people must bear in mind that domestic reaction and imperialism are devising reserve strategems with a view to the possible replacement of the junta by another government while preserving their privileges. In working towards this end, reaction above all seeks to isolate the Communist Party in order to weaken and destroy the popular movement.

The struggle for anti-fascist unity is therefore also a struggle against all reactionary or conciliatory ways out of the present situation, against all attempts to prevent the working class and other more conscious sections of the people from playing the responsible role that belongs to them in the future of Chile. Only through the broadest unity can the way be barred to any such alternative involving in the final analysis the division of the people in the interests of their enemies.

For this reason the only truly patriotic, popular alternative presupposes the creation of a far broader coalition than Popular Unity, a coalition that would include all political, social, religious and military organizations and individuals determined to put an end to the dictatorship. This is the key task which every patriot should help to carry out.

Mass Work Remains Decisive

The decisive, vitally necessary precondition for the building of anti-fascist unity is work among the masses. No tactics can take the place of this work, which is the guarantee of victory. There is no way whatsoever out of the present situation except through action by the masses. Victory depends on their participation.

The Anti-Fascist Front will be built mostly from below, at the level of the popular organizations, where the people live, work, study or spend their leisure time. It is here that the revolutionaries must work to unite the majority and help it achieve its aspirations, the realization of which depends in the final analysis on the type of government at the head of the country.

It is the prime duty of all anti-fascists to belong to mass organizations. Fascism seeks to prevent all manifestations of independence on the part of the Chilean people's public organizations. In its efforts to turn the country into a military barracks it is trying to crush all democratic activity.

Clearly, the majority of the people do not accept the state of affairs created by the policy of the junta and feel that it cannot last. But it is also obvious that many are unclear about the way out. Only if the advanced patriots take part in the work of the mass organizations will it

be possible to guide, organize and unite the masses so as to build up sufficient strength to defeat the dictatorship, to work for victory without recourse to reckless actions. Needless to say, in the conditions of the dictatorship it is more difficult to conduct active work among the masses than it was before. Nevertheless, although the forms of struggle must now be different, the usurpers are powerless to prevent legal activity by the revolutionaries and all democrats in the popular organizations, in the struggle to resolve the problems confronting the people.

The most important thing today is the restoration of trade union rights, primarily the right to put forward demands and to strike. Many trade unions have won wage increases over and above the limits allowed by the junta. A number of federations are insisting on their right to participate in the drafting of the proposed reforms of the Labour Code, social security system, and the social status of enterprises, resisting the fascist junta's attempts to decide these questions without the participation of the parties concerned.

Another essential aspect of work among the masses is the illegal, underground activity of the anti-fascist organizations and the people in general. Legal and illegal work constitute a single whole and must complement each other. Only through clandestine organization can the character of the junta, its crimes and anti-national actions be publicly exposed, its obscurantist ideology combated, and the possibility preserved, despite the difficult conditions, of guiding, organizing and uniting the numerous popular actions. Clandestine work will be the more effective and significant the closer it is linked with the struggle waged by the broad masses, and especially if it is conducted with and by the masses.

The popular movement must reject the path of terror, of action by small groups, of adventurism. To take this path would mean playing into the hands of fascism. The year of domination by the oppressors has shown that the dictators would like to impel the popular movement towards actions of this order, since this would give them a pretext to seize upon to justify their crimes.

It is essential to prevent the emergence and spread of tendencies passively to wait for a nonexistent solution to be served up from somewhere beyond the bounds of the mass movement. The junta is spreading rumours about the establishment of a government in exile and the formation of armed groups outside the country with the object of taking over power. The main purpose of this invention is to discredit the powerful international solidarity movement as "interventionism", and also to doom the popular masses to inactivity, to induce them passively to submit to the exploitation and abuses and wait for the "great day" or "great action" that would allegedly change the state of affairs.

Needless to say, the great day of people's triumph will come, but it will come only if the millions of Chileans wage a mass struggle within the country, if an organized character is imparted to the protest actions everywhere and all patriots are united in the Anti-Fascist Front.



Luis Corvalan, jailed general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party.

Many of the former patriotic supporters of the Allende government are now in the fascist jails of General Pinochet. With U.S. support, the fascist junta is preparing to massacre Communist, Socialist, Christian Democrats and all other people who were in the Allende government. Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party, and others such as Carlos Matus, Jose Cademartori, Daniel Vergara, Fernando Flores, Anibal Palm and 180 other political prisoners face the real possibility of losing their lives. The time is now for all progressive forces to demand their freedom. The time is now to protest and work for their lives and their freedom. Immediate protests (telegrams especially) must be directed to President Ford or Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Protests should also be sent to the: Chilean Embassy, 1730 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Wash., D.C. 20036 — (202) 785-1746 or to Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, New York, New York 10017 — (212) 754-1234.

END

RACISM and REPRESSION!

Movement in Chile

Popular Front — 1939

As a result of the intensification of the social struggle brought about by the economic crisis, the Radical Party began to adopt a more moderate leftist position. This was due, on the one hand, to the reforming zeal of the Party's lower middle classes who had been hardest hit by the economic crisis. On the other hand, it was an attempt by the Radical leadership to circumvent the rising militancy of the proletariat. This move toward the left allowed for the development of Chile's first Popular Front government in 1939. The Front, was a coalition between the Communist, Socialist and Radical parties. For the first time in Chile, leaders from the parties of the center-left and left worked together to defeat the candidate of the oligarchy. The Front's presidential candidate, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, a radical, won a close election and then struggled until his death in 1941 to realize the Front's promises to the nation. This was an almost impossible task, since he presided over an uneasy alliance and was blocked at each step by a congress controlled by conservatives. The Front proposed numerous reforms. The one implemented most successfully was the formation of the National Development Corporation (CORFO) which was designed to stimulate and finance industrial development. In the end, CORFO was used by the state to promote partial industrialization beneficial to the capitalist class.

The 1939 government was only the first in a series of popular front governments which were to appear in Chile from that time to the 1950s. In 1942, after the unexpected death of Aguirre, the Front joined hands to elect a well-known, anti-communist leader in the Radical Party, Juan Antonio Rios. These popular front coalitions continued to remain under the hegemony of the Radical Party.

Splits In The Left

The Radical Party was able to assert its leadership, largely, because of the continual factional warfare within the Left movement. The Socialist Party and Communist Party had carried on a constant fight for control of the trade-unions and vied with each other for posts in the Popular Front governments. They also held ideological differences, particularly, on international questions. The Socialists, for instance, tried to oust the Communists from the government because the Communists supported the Soviet Union-German Non-Aggression Pact of 1939. Unsuccessful in this effort the Socialists temporarily withdrew from the coalition in 1941.

The immediate post-war years witnessed a deeper split in the leadership of the Chilean Left. The demands of the wartime economy had served to delay the crisis which had jolted the Chilean

movement. However, the economy resumed its rapid decline. These unstable conditions stimulated independent workers struggles which reached a climax with the killing of six workers during a demonstration in support of a nitrate worker's strike. A general strike was called. In an attempt to forestall the strike, the Socialist Party leadership was offered posts in the government. After some negotiations, the Socialists accepted the offer and tried to call off the strike. As a consequence, the Socialists lost the support of some trade-unions to the Communist Party and were branded sell-outs by the Communist Party leadership.

The 1946 presidential election found the Communist Party again in coalition with the Radical Party. The Socialists were left out of this front. The Front's candidate, Gonzales Videla, won the election. The new government was set up with the Communists holding three seats in the nine man cabinet.

Not long after Videla became president, he turned against the Communists, purged them from the labor movement, and prohibited their participation in national life. This attitude was largely a reflection of the anti-communist campaign led by the United States government.

The Masses Remain Poor

One of the Front's most striking failures was that during the entire period from 1938 to 1952 nothing was done about land reform. Even large estates went untaxed. In 1955, an agricultural census indicated that the old property relations had remained basically unchanged, fewer than 10 percent of the landowners owned 86 percent of the arable land, while 74.6 percent of the poor peasants owned only 5.3 percent of the land. Furthermore wages of the working classes fell from 27 percent to 21 percent of the national income during the years 1940-53.

It was in the election of 1952 that Salvador Allende began his climb to the presidency. Although one of the founders of the Socialist Party, he had gained the respect of members of both Left-wing parties. The Leftist parties were too badly split and the masses too demoralized to rally more than 6 percent of the vote for Allende. A right-wing demagogue, Carlos Ibanez, who had been the Nazi-backed candidate of 1938, swept the election. Ibanez had run a very demagogic campaign, but once in office, his completely reactionary, anti-working class politics became obvious.

During Ibanez's term, the living conditions of the working masses continued to worsen. The rate of inflation climbed incredibly. The cost of living rose 56 percent, 70 percent, 80 percent, 40 percent, and 20 percent, respectively, in the years 1953-57. The working-class, faced with a rapidly deteriorating econ-

omy, turned to the labor struggle, and, independently of the ruling class.

In 1953, the labor movement underwent a period of reorganization, and the United Federation of Workers (CUT) was formed. This signaled the growing unity within leftist worker's ranks.

A New Popular Front

Three years later, the Popular Action Front (FRAP) was formed. This time the coalition of Socialist and Communist parties did not include the middle-class dominated Radical Party. FRAP began to intensify its efforts to give the working-class movement new unified leadership. Criticism was registered against the Ibanez government for allowing the army to forcefully break-up a mass demonstration of students and workers. The demonstration in which forty to sixty workers were killed, was in protest against the raising of bus fares.

By 1958, FRAP had become deeply rooted in the urban and rural proletariat and it was prepared to launch its greatest organized effort. The coalition would run Allende for the presidency.

FRAP's program included agrarian reform by expropriation; nationalization of banks, insurance companies and the petroleum and sugar industries; the creation of state-run enterprises and mixed public-private companies in heavy industry; higher taxation of high incomes; a change of direction in foreign trade, particularly with the socialist countries and other Latin American countries.

In the election Allende lost to the conservative Jorge Alessandri by 35,000 votes.

While FRAP continued to build its working class base, the Radical Party cooperated with president Alessandri in his program of expansion and stabilization, which resulted in an annual rate of inflation of around 40 percent, a rise in food prices, the stagnation of industrial production and a rash of wage claims.

A New Middle-Class Party

As the 1964 election approached, the Radical Party, threatened by the militancy of the proletariat, joined with the Conservative and Liberal parties to form what was called a "Democratic Front". The Liberal and Conservative parties had always represented the interest of the large-landed proprietors and the industrial and commercial elites. However, the coalition collapsed before the campaign ended and the Conservatives and Liberals supported the Christian Democrat, Eduardo Frei.

The Christian Democratic Party (PDC) was the last born of Chile's major political parties. Its ideology was a mixture of paternalism, Christian socialism, corporatism and charity. PDC's support came, largely, from the urban middle-classes most of which had formerly supported the Radical Party.

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Frei's campaign was designed to discredit FRAP among the electorate. With up to one-million dollars per month from U.S. sources, Frei promised a "Revolution in Liberty", and headed a massive propaganda offensive whose basic message was that FRAP meant communism, and communism meant the end of all freedom. Mainly because of these scare tactics, Allende lost the election by a wide margin, receiving only 38.9 percent of the vote to Frei's 56.1 percent.

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As could be predicted, the PDC's popularity grew with the expectations created by its promises, and declined with the realization that it could not deliver. As the PDC declined from 1964 to 1970, the worker's and peasant's movements grew both in size and militancy. Instead of placating the masses, the limited PDC reforms only convinced them of the validity of their struggle and of the vulnerability of the ruling class.

The continued decline in the standard of living of the workers gave rise to a more militant unified Left movement. This radicalization was especially marked among the peasantry. There were increasing numbers of land occupations by the peasants. Peasant unions grew from a few thousand members in 1964 to over 100,000 by 1969.

Confrontations between striking workers and police were on the rise throughout the period. In March 1966, police killed seven miners and injured twenty-five at the well known El Teniente mine. Police occupied Anaconda's El Salvador and Potrilla mines when the miners came out in support of the El Teniente workers.

In November 1967, a twenty-four-hour general strike resulted in the mobilization of all Chile's troops, including the navy and air force.

In Puerto Montt on March 10, 1969, an infamous massacre took place. A thousand homeless poor attempted to use the public land in order to build shacks to live in. The repressive forces were sent in, killing five and wounding thirty-seven. By May and June, the army was running the trains in an attempt to break a railroad worker's strike.

In 1970, students joined clerical workers striking for higher wages to meet the runaway inflation plaguing Chile's economy. Following weeks of confrontations, two students were killed and a state of emergency was declared.

It was under conditions of violent class struggle that the 1970 election which brought Allende to power took place. The coalition of Marxist and bourgeois parties which triumphed was named the Popular Unity.

Allende's victory, in short, was the by-product of popular frontism in Chile and of the new radicalization sweeping the Chilean masses.

U. S. Intervention

'defeat. Again in 1969, according to the secret Colby testimony, \$500,000 was authorized by the Forty Committee (a special grouping in the White House, including Ford, Rockefeller, Kissinger and others) to "fund individuals who could be nurtured to keep the anti-Allende forces active and intact."

U.S. military involvement in Chile, before and during the Allende government, took the form of millions of dollars in military "aid" and the training of military officers of all branches. In the past 20 years, over 4,000 Chilean military officers have been trained in U.S. schools, either in the U.S. or the Panama Canal Zone. These include the four original members of the fascist junta. The Chilean police force, the *Carabineros*, received \$2.5 million from the Agency for International Development.

After 1970 — A Frenzied Increase of U.S. Intervention

The Popular Unity plurality in 1970 sent the U.S. agents in Chile into a frenzy. The subversive plan hatched by ITT and the CIA in 1970, which was exposed by Jack Anderson in March 1972, was carried out to the letter. As the Allende government moved to return copper and other monopolized wealth of Chile to the people of Chile, the ITT-CIA plan of "destabilization" went into effect. The plan included creating economic chaos while at the same time funding the regular military and terrorist right wing groups to prepare a military coup. When the UP government increased its plurality in the March 1973 elections, the U.S. plan for a violent overthrow was stepped up.

The 2 billion dollar Chilean debt, owed mostly to U.S. sources, was accumulated by pre-UP governments, especially the Christian Democrats. The World Bank refused Allende's plea to renegotiate the debt, and the U.S. cut commercial credits drastically (down to \$3 million), but greatly increased military "aid" to \$45.5 millions.

To quote the *Sun Times*, 9-8-74, "The Forty Committee authorized an additional \$5 million for more destabilization efforts during the period from 1971 to 1973." The CIA plan called first for bribing the Chilean congressmen not to name Allende as President. When that didn't work, the ITT-CIA plan called for a military uprising by right-wing officers to prevent Allende's inauguration. In October 1970, Gen. Schneider, the Commander-in-Chief who respected the constitution, was assassinated. However, a general strike by labor stopped the fascists and Allende was inaugurated. The plan then called for heavy financial support of the virulent anti-UP press (*el Mercurio*), for an undeclared blockade and economic war by the U.S. to strangle the dependent Chilean economy; organ-

ization of the largest part of the groups (*Patria y Libertad*) to create disorders; use of the AIFLD (American Institute for Free Labor Development) to organize anti-UP trade associations and "unions" to call political strikes to paralyze the economy; encouragement of and use of agents provocateurs in "ultra-left" groups to also provoke strikes and to frighten the middle class by unauthorized nationalization of small businesses. The final preparation was the mass assassinations of loyalist military officers, leading to the final, fascist military coup.

U.S. Role in The Military Coup

Mrs. Hortensia Allende, widow of the President, revealed the direct military role of the U.S. in the Sept. 11, 1973 coup. Speaking to the Conference on "CIA AND WORLD PEACE" held April 5, 1975 at Yale University, Mrs. Allende cited the presence of U.S. warships in Chilean waters immediately before and after the coup. She described the arrival of 32 U.S. observation and battle planes on the Chilean border at Mendoza, Argentina, and the arrival of 150 U.S. "specialists in air acrobatics" in Chile — all this just days before the coup. U.S. air force Majors V. Duenas and T. Schull, according to Mrs. Allende, piloted their plane no. WB-575, plate no. 631-2398, in the battle zones during the Chilean coup. Their plane was a flying electronic control station and was used to coordinate the junta's military communications.

The Chilean experience is one of the most shameful chapters in U.S. foreign policy. We can learn from the events in Chile that the U.S. imperialists will not even allow a people to choose socialism as an answer to their problems if it is not in the interest of the U.S. capitalists. But this temporary set back will not live long, because the people of Chile are showing new strength in their struggle against fascism. History has proven to be on the side of people wanting to be free.

International
Women's Year
1975



Recommended Books

1. *Economics Of Racism U.S.A.* by Victor Perlo. A penetrating study of racism in the realm of economics which is a key question in understanding the role of racism in our society. International Publishers, N.Y.C., Price: \$4.25.
2. *Fidel In Chile*, Fidel Castro. The speeches and personal interviews of the Cuban leader during his historic visit to Chile in 1971. International Publishers, N.Y.C. Price: \$2.25.
3. *Ho Chi Minh*, by Ho Chi Minh. Selected articles and speeches on one of the greatest revolutionary leaders in our times, from 1920 to his last Testament. International Publishers, N.Y.C. Price: \$1.65.

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Chile's Experience

social transformations and growing resistance of the bourgeoisie; the strategic — the strengthening of the alliance of democratic forces, and first of all the alliance with the middle urban segments, the forming of a social army of the revolution.

It should be noted, however, that there was no theoretical elaboration and political substantiation of the ways, forms and methods of solving these key problems and this had a negative effect on the entire development of the struggle. Left-wing extremists contended that a direct stage of the socialist revolution had started, that an offensive against the bourgeoisie as a whole had started and for this reason arbitrarily carried out adventurist expropriations.

The Communist Party of Chile held a correct position, saying that there still remained unsolved some tasks of the anti-imperialist, antioligarchic revolution. But there was no clear-cut substantiation of the roads and methods of the speediest attainment of these tasks.

A Victory For World Peace In Vietnam And Cambodia

The recent overwhelming victories of the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples against United States imperialism are victories for all peace loving forces in the world. These progressive victories confirm once again that the future belongs to freedom, peace and equality as people are struggling around the world to rid themselves of the imperialist yoke.

Each year the forces of world revolution: the socialist countries, the national liberation movements in the developing countries, and the anti-monopoly forces in the capitalist countries grow stronger. This year, May Day took on a special meaning with the victories in Indo-China. This year, the celebration belongs to the patriotic liberation forces in South East Asia, particularly the Vietnamese people who have suffered from and resisted so long the Chinese, Japanese, French and United States aggression.

The scars of those years of war will remain on the land and on the people of Vietnam for years to come. There are tens of thousands of acres where crops will not grow for many years. Innumerable bomb craters from lakes that dot the Vietnamese countryside. Children will grow up missing arms and legs and carrying the scars of napalm. We cannot forget the courageous strength of these people, nor the destructive role of our government.

The victories in Southeast Asia are of true historical significance, because they dealt a tremendous blow against racism and imperialist brutality. All anti-imperialist forces join in solidarity with the people of Indo-China, and also applaud the unswerving support from the socialist countries, especially the support given by the Soviet Union which was critical for these victories.

Meanwhile it was only this road and by pursuing a very flexible policy that would rule out Leftist adventurism that it could be possible to strengthen the alliance of the working class with the middle layers and ensure the revolution's advance. But no such clarity was introduced into politics. The revolution was marking time. Reaction stepped up its activities and somewhere at the close of 1972 began to switch to the offensive. In many instances the revolutionary forces did not hold a vigorously offensive stand in respect to the reactionary circles. This was one of the crucial miscalculations made by the Popular Unity coalition.

A fierce class struggle started in the country in all fields — political, economic and ideological. The struggle for power was exceptionally tense. Allende's victory signified the creation of a revolutionary-democratic government but it did not enjoy full power. And the cardinal question of the revolution — the establishment of popular, democratic power — was not solved.

There were two centers of power in the country; the popular one that concentrated in its hands mostly the executive power in the person of President Allende and his government, and a reactionary center that held in its hands legislative power, the judiciary, most of the state apparatus and the mass media.

Reaction used bourgeois constitutionalism and legality, all levers of parliamen-

tary power and the judiciary to limit to the minimum the transforming activities of the executive power under the guise of observing legality and then to paralyze it. At the same time, reaction violated all norms of legality.

Reaction carried the class struggle beyond the framework of constitutionalism and legality. At the same time the Allende government could not transgress the framework of constitutionalism in its actions to suppress the unlawful actions of the class enemy. Loyalty to bourgeois constitutionalism was determined by the coalition's program documents. There was still another factor — the army. It was an important political force. As to its legal neutralization, it was ensured by the concept of constitutionalism of administration.

Being fettered by these circumstances, the Allende government actually left intact the bourgeois state apparatus and the judiciary which sabotaged the popular government's undertakings. Using this, the reaction mustered its forces and prepared for an offensive.

The Allende governments' measures against reaction, including its fascist wing, were of little effect. The entire complexity of the political situation was that because of wrong political steps the correct course — to avoid civil war — brought closer civil war in its most dangerous form for the revolution, in the form of a military-fascist coup.

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